/233 cont./
796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[793] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý areteý Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[777] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[798] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykeý and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

798 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
799 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

/7 cont./

121 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain
128 scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the purpose of the work.

• 114 This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní
101 idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946,
[12] the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Itariri; furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these villages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Itatins), but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Itariri. I also worked in the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, formerly Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçú region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha in the Xapecó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayová subgroup, in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambi, Amambai, Taquapiri, and Jacareí, the latter made up of families of the Ñandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to become familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/ such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the Mbüá-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Yroÿsü) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situations is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of uninterrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

2: Schaden--5 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/8 cont./

122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

• 114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me [123] in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I [115] shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, flanderú /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbüá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txeruángá, my adoptive father), and Capitão 122 Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.

128 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D.D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties: always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

2: Schaden--7 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2),

• [114]

2. /From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128] [114]

128 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages,
101 the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and non-material culture. Reference will be made to these particularities
197 at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

/10 cont./

197
101 Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3./From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 286, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as horde, they use the expression 'Nandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the autodenomination of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as ñandevaekuére (4)

[128] 4. /From p. 22 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, terms and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[194]

(our people), ñandéva eté (is likewise our people), txé ñandeva eté (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only autodenomination used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimuendajú with the name Apapokúva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tañyguá and some other hordes mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The Mbüá call it Txiripá ʃ, "the "Little Txiripá /Chiripa/" (5).

[128]

• [114] 5. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

/10 cont./

178 184 [101] In two villages on the Paulista coast (Itariri and Rananal) live Ñandéva who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture, particularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no difficulty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Ñandéva of the village of Araribá near Baurú, where in the early part of this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal brothers." I stayed with the Ñandéva of Dourados, and in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, a few kilometers from the [114] [101] Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications, should correspond approximately to the probable point of departure of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /11/ certain that the Indians of that village dress like sertanejos /people who live in the sertão, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

101 Mbüá /Mbya/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by those Guaraní known in the literature as Kaingua /Caingua/, Kaiuá /Cayua/, etc., and whom the Ñandéva call Tambéopé (6)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

("broad chiripá") or Txeirü, Ñaneirü ("mine" or "our friends"). It is also not rare to find for these Indians the name Apüteré, or Apyteré (corruptions: Apuiteré, Apiteré), which they themselves, however, reject as depreciatory (7).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It might be of interest to recall, concerning this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation, when he says, referring to the fact that an Auetü /Aueto/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu could be considered the central point for the

/11 cont./

101
• [114]

navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kuli-sehu and the Batovi: "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Auiti' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form apité, 'that which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 192.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Baticolas, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avâhuguai, "men with tails," given for the same reason.

South of Santos two hordes of Mbüá live in the villages of Rio Branco and Rio Comprido (near Itariri). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mbüá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mbüá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guaíra, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová is the third group, also known as Tellí and Tembekuá (8).

[114]

8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Wanda Hanke confirmed to me in 1951 that the Tembekuá she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayová of Mato Grosso; and the name Tembekuá is not an auto-denomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Itakiry, from where their villages (Cupim, Formosa, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

[361]

The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of kâá ŷ yguá) varies between Kaiuá and Kadjová, with the intermediate forms Kaicuá and Kayová. I use the last one (9).

1128

9. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948b).

[114]

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114]

10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Tellí (Teýi) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name
[114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá ſ (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not
[115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapûté.

[361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions
[659] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as
167 far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114]

11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

/12 cont./

confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is understood that the former advanced as far as the Lower Tibají /Tibagí/ in their migrations.

In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./ I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá ʃ (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinĩ (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom "we call UĨtxĨ." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/12 cont./

175 In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or al-
361 most totally, dispersed (15).
[62]

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./
[115] One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do
• [114] Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

175 The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some
167 families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and
[361] Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later
[361] settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbiá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory con-
[361] tiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

2: Schaden--15 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [787] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Nandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/15 cont./ At
62 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
177 quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
735 and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
783 nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
464 lage.

184 In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
157 women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/ one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious, hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

361 Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
179 Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The results are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
114 of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
162 post, besides some mestiços. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
177 tion of the region are not infrequent.

361 Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu, about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
114 men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- tüldo, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
114 portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
464 for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league
from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní --
of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182
of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of
the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 in-
dividuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly
as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[198] longer performing ceremonies of any type: among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through
the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in
the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend
assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to
dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the
Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost
totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at
Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[162] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[166] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[433] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. --
The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

2: Schaden--20 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians [621] [62] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the [968] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by [114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Poñí), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Nuverá). Some 300 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1948. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1948.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in [361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are [162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound [177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other [162] side of the /18/ border: some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be [114] pure Indian, but creole mestiso. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in
131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil
648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

2: Schaden--24 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/20 cont./

121 177 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience of the Guaraní Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaraní perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

121 184 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the Guaraní culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaraní cultures. The populations that speak some Guaraní dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupí-Guaraní family. Since the dividing [114] line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

[177] Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaraní speech in their reaction to situations of contact with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[179] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
[164] latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[80] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

• 114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the
[283] Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[462] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[286] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[386] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/40 cont./

292 293 [531] Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively ritual use, the klâkuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 [126] The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton. In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters. [286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles, one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the [283] central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it 291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece 531 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four 237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel- [192] low and orange toucan (tîkâ) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called 291 ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita- [114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned 292 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism 178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, 798 leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/43 cont./

291 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 [192] The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koítsí) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I [114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿaí. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] [177] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type: I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] [273] [433] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] [437] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. [173] There inheres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] [114] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/48 cont./

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824 reason they are called, according to the group, sometimes avatĩ mĩtĩ, sometimes avatĩ karapé, sometimes avatĩ mirĩ. Since in the majority of the varieties the ears are elongated in comparison with those of the hard maize, the designation avatĩ pukú is also used for them. Furthermore, a distinction is made indicating the color: morõtĩ (white), djú (yellow) or pỹtĩ (red), or pará (spotted: a mixture of yellow and black kernels).

Of all these varieties the one that stands out for ethnological interest is the avatĩ djakairá morõtĩ or avatĩ pukú morõtĩ, with a high stalk and white kernel, the one preferred for making chicha. The Kayová in particular refer /Ills. I-V appear here/ /48/ to it with noticeable respect. "This one is splendid, it does not bear in just any ground"; it does not bear in kaá tim (open country) or in a new clearing, only in the underwood. And it is necessary to "bless the seed," one informant stresses. "This one is very delicate," says another; "one plants the clearing and then does not cross any more; and it is necessary to baptize the land." In reality, the magical and ceremonial precautions are also taken in connection with the other varieties, but, at least among the Kayová, more importance is given to the avatĩ djakairá morõtĩ.

A fact also interesting for the geneticist is that the Kayová and other Guaraní are afraid that the maize might degenerate. At
• [114] the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta I met a doctor-sorcerer of
[115] Ñandéva origin, who told me a curious theory about the subject. It was more or less as follows: There are two varieties of the avatĩ pukú, morõtĩ and pỹtĩ, the white and the red. The ancients said that the red one grew next to the white one so that the latter would not degenerate and would always give full-kerneled ears. The red maize originated from the speckled one, and the latter from the white one; it is like the sugar-cane juice, the crusts of sugar in the boiler /Port. rapadura/, and the sugar. The red comes from the white, in the holes that are opened, in an oblique position, in the direction of the rising sun. One plants only white seeds, not red or spotted ones. The red color is an effect of sunlight; the ears become such because of the direct influence of the sun, and they, because of their strength, make the white ones become strong

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56]

2: Schaden--54 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Nandéva
Kayová

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I. Marçal de Souza, Nandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

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III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

2: Schaden--58 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the [114] manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 [192] Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kũtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kũtĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandióknũra drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour- [192] pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] [192] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kũí morõkĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use [126] of the grater.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Nandéva of the coast that we find one of
[178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

•[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers")
[101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6);

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ guí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.
324 Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] [252] [192] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast the fish on the spot (mokĩ é), where it is consumed. When nearby, they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] [192] [438] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another city belongs to them themselves: they spend it, in general, on wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered [114] a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá: all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners [224] of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when [178] they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I [114] repeatedly had the oppertunity to attend gatherings of this kind, [84] as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambí among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages 476 178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by [115] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have [654] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, [182] the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualised, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the 621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbyá and Ñandeva) [84] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the flanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [313] [570] [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 [585] [114] [115]

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [824] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [58] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

2: Schaden--98 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/81 cont./

apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning, under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously -- and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the village of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence, working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law, on whose village he will have to work much more than the latter's sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him /82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupation about finding a "legal substitute"; the person more often indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away: the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

2: Schaden--99 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[177] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and
415 mynakú (Kayová) (6) --

462 6. /From p. 84 of the original source./
415 Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three
101 Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of
• 114 eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paï. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacï." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Paï" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pï with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

2: Schaden--100 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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415
B01
B114

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a
462 gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista
[184] coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production
[178] for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

[184] Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the
[577] Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

2: Schaden--103 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. [171] The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade [114] -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding [196] "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term odjépotá [827] used for the mother, and only the Mbyá consider her (odjeko)aká; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva [115] woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the [184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that [789] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions [114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

2: Schaden--104 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/87 cont./

846 [789] [114] that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the 846 851 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation: in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 842 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with reference to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the [827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One 846 Mbyá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the 753 necessity for the father to take precautions /as resguardo/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 178 [822] The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to obtain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At

2: Schaden--115 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 Ha44 Gunnel Hall

/95 cont./
881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the taste in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 102.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not
[829] only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebration is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the midst of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-pinta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were
[114] obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the kanderó (pa) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the average. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[628] [243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated: those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

2: Schaden--122 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani S344

/99 cont./

756 [622] Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pracoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay: he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pracoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambaí, but who also was said to have come from a different village. [114]

622 756 [178] "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 198 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 397.

And where the religious needs demand it, the Xeramoí does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the Xeramoí, the above-mentioned ascendancy of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an inherited tenure. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the capitanejo. But the present-day Mbyá of eastern Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the aldea is attested to by Pedro Miller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities.

623 178

[114] [624]

623 /100 cont./
courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and retained in the office so long as he does not displease the community (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Montoya, 1978, p. 108.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office: the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, between pages 88 and 89.

622 624 756 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 156 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto, only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his /100/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among the Mandóvo of Juruena I attended an informal session of the council, to which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with the problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the Nanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the Nanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambí, Pai Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[57] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[59] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambí in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less imbued with the
156 General mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Jaguarí, told me that
he considered it one of his duties to shout "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

2: Schaden--128 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/104 cont./

622 624 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of [477] [478] the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the Ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.

[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be capitão," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be Ñanderú or at least [622] xeramõi (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the Ñanderú Diondón, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast. In order to hasten the de- [622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Acatibá in Mimoxintão or Pinhal, appointed several decades ago but the religious chief, Ñanderú Xeramõi(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Diondón, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and open intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /[plural of capitão] side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

2: Schaden--152 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1952 S144 Guarani S144

/118 cont./

What is /118/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title Nanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

For the Mbyá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into tsereté ("my body") and tsuñaé (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of tsuñaé from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Nandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbyá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952, p. 32.

The Mbyá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called Ñañ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial embryo of the personality.

/123 cont./

782 79 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 182 [795] [424] [787] Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the *porahéi* is an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies, from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each individual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable *porahéi*, received personally in a dream from some protector spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbüá. The Kayová, to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the *paí*.

[184] [424] [787] Each *porahéi* consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural spirits. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences.

[784] During the *porahéi* the religious sentiment is intensified, even to the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound peace, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 424 • 114 The most precious possessions of an individual are his *porahéi*, which are referred to with pride and even with some reverence. The fear of showing or making inadequate use of the prayer is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the ceremonies sometimes show to take that the Guaraní watch him there that he possesses or knows. As described one day an adoption of so-called folkloric music apparently he made use of the Guaraní prayers because "typical" compositions, which, as it appears, were

2: Schaden--157 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 5364 Guarani 5364

/122 cont./

782 424 114 [123] them played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 181 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Mondéya, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacareí confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Mondéjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Mondéjára ranõjoká," said Miñáto. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [114] [116] [129]

782 775 779 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the parakú is, in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression that it is a matter /126/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and sanctify itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeé or ayvú, that is, language or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, meaning, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,

[92] 782 778 621

2: Schaden--189 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/129 cont./

754 755 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried; then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the counter-sorcery, the killer distorts the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery."

[115] [825] The technique of counter-sorcery, as was explained to me by Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to distort the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

• [114] [115] 754 755 766 825 /130/ A singular ritual practice of counter-sorcery of the Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to witness either, was related to me by Ismael de Souza. When the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the duress with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similar similiar customs /like cures like/.

Tr Schaden--175 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 S344 Guarani S344

/134 cont./

armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversation touches on this domain. As far as the Mbyá are concerned, it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

(114)

Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní tribes.

Among the Mbyá, however, the memory that they formerly had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are found in the forest, some kilometers from the villages, for long one another, there being even from a small amount of earth, but of quadrangle and a wooden cross three to at the foot of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the Mbyá

2z Schaden--177 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh64

/136 cont./

775 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some
764 way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over
372 the grave is lighted -- Mbbá, Nandéva, and Kayová -- a small
fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová
• [114] say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage
which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an
originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the
contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning
other Tupí-Guaraní (18).

18. /From p. 182 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 187). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial: when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensible on the grave of the adults. Mangal, my principal and best informant, said me the following explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayová: the Soul of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels [115] the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond: the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant told me that, for the Guaraní, the deceased sometimes "sacrifices" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other ways: it is because the Soul of it is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to this explanation, it is the Soul (originally only the nefarious part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does [116]

2: Schaden--178 E-4,6 (1946-1954) 1962 Sm4 Guarani Sm4

/138 cont./

775 not have entrance to the sy," that is to say, who is not accepted
764 because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth with-
972 out rest, becoming transformed into an angüery. A doctrine which
[774] obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it re-
places the belief in the ability of the human soul by the Christian
notion of reward and condemnation.

764 At the Pilcomayo Indigen Cuni Ximenaki (Araethé), where the
178 burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator
[769] provides a wooden box), th graves are decorated on the Day of
[768] the Dead in the same way s the Christian ones are, but, on the
other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the ob-
jects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of
768 children. When a child dis, they put on the grave the toys left
764 behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that
they still find: on the tomb of adults they place the porongo
/water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman
-- used for carrying water,besides other objects of personal use.

The "adds and ends"that belonged to the deceased, and
which are not buried with hi, are placed on the tomb for an
unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pilcomayo Indigenous Reservation
Centrest there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos,
calabashes, shoes, bows, dies, pots and pans, and so on. Ex-
posed to the weather, these objects are gradually /ruin/ destroyed;
it also happens, as Capitán Chaco told me, that the better things
are "stolen" by some interest person. This supposition, in fact,
must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is
[915] actually an idea that the "life" (angüery) of the dead person
• [114] can utilize the "adds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /There p. 138/ the original reasons./
No calabash is left in the grave, aside from
those that belonged to the dead man or woman,
contrary to what I d. Women states, Ibid,
p. 46.

763 Among the Lengua I was told that the material goods of the deceased
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2x Schaden--Iso E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1961 Xlbb Gaucaul Xlbb

/197 cont./

religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven: thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Anambé told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry: this is not the Indian way. All should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the crow" among the Kayapó is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious: what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Anambé -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there was no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (12) --

12. /From p. 132 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 46.

-- that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /116/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayapó say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they have prayers of "not remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

Like so many other religions, that of the Gorotire is in diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the face toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto, Amanaly). It is a case of setting out for the evil spirit of the mythical paradise of the Gorotire, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Metuktí's conception, the journey of the dead to the land without evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

2r Schaden--206 E-4.5 (1948-1954) 1982 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/181 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./

existence of analogous ideas in other cultures of South American tribes, in particular of the Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of village in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Newe Zeytung aus Pressilig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1892, p. 38 et passim), and about which various chroniclers also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any rarity in the conjunctions of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tamoiokóe), the Fountain of Youth (Arasá /Arawak/ of Central America), the Peruvian Inca (Kuzco /Quichú/), the Orchard of Paradise (Peyngué, perhaps Christian influence here), and still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world by the Indians. — Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by me in an earlier work (Schaden, 1945, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a

2: Schaden--208 B-4,5 (1948-1954) 1963 Ethnohistory Ethnohistory

/183 cont./
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[184] in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbyá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1948, p. 34.

• [184] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /183/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of the John /St. John/ (4).

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in history that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors: "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and unrealistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not so great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote nonsense rather than history, it is not possible to deny a stagnation, as others assert." A. Fanfani, 1956, p. 57.

Thus we must admit that purely autochthonal Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is commonly attributed to it.

Fr Schaden--200 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/163 cont./

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The belief in future catastrophes (5)

5. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Graebner, 1924, pp. 68-69, seems to consider it characteristic of "patrilineal cultures." For the sake of a comparison of the Guaraní problem with analogous beliefs among the Australian aborigines, it is instructive to read Petri's article, 1930. In 1932 I had the opportunity to discuss the subject with this author at the University of Frankfurt am Main.

is a relatively rare phenomenon in the mythology of the Tupí group. Métraux told me that he had found it among the Tsitsgaltsa /Chiriguano/. Father Albert Kruse recorded it among the Manoteváli /Manoteveno/ (6)

6. /From p. 177 of the original source./ "At the end of the world, Karunkaylá will burn the human beings." Kruse, 1[illegible], p. 922.

and Nimuendajú noted analogous ideas among the Tukúna /Tucuna/ (in whose language no overt Tupí influence has been verified) (7).

7. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 137-138.

973
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In the Tukúna tribe, by the way, the belief appears in relation to the civilizer hero Tzuk, who would be offended by the fact that the spiritual tradition of the tribe had been obliterated by the cultural influences of the civilized world. The idea should be noted as significant because of its partial similarity with the Guaraní representations.

/189 cont./ 2. The Mbüá

Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-General deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan out in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra). In whose culture subjects influence has as yet been determined.

It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise into genuine forms of agwyjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by Léon Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the closest religious ideas in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

/190/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose central life the role of the eschatology of the future is still an almost null and for whom the idea of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a spiritual state of happiness obtained as reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences of the "visionary" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the love of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on their way to the sea, and who look on Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This same gives to the myth springs from the motivation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain determinants.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the colônia of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (município) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 20,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over execrable roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from those Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide an full account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will there be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgment for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Comunicação Intercultural of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgment are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloísa Alberto Torres. With these complete Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Dulcen Toledo and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and ob-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 S344 Guarani S344

elaborated in the field; however, the data and conclusions herein do not include any of their material nor represent the product of discussing problems with them subsequent to the period of field work.

We are also indebted to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios of the Ministério da Agricultura of Brazil for having helped to make our trip a success. The representatives of the Serviço in the region of our work were especially kind and helpful. Among these are Coronel Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, Chefe da Inspetoria Regional do SPI in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso, and Senhor Carvalho, encarregado of the Posto "Francisco Horta" at Dourados, our traveling companion and guide for a part of the trip, as well as our host at Dourados. Dayem Pereira dos Santos, encarregado of the Posto "Benjamin Constant" at Umbo, and his wife, D. Balbina, time and again went out of their way to be hospitable.

For patient and constructive criticism of the manuscript itself many thanks are due to Professors Fred Eggan and Sol Tax of the University of Chicago. Bernard Siegel of Stanford University has also been kind enough to read and comment upon it. Virginia Dove Watson, my wife, has given generously of her time at every stage of research and writing and of her first-hand knowledge of the Tapuguaia group.

For financial assistance in doing some of the background research and in writing the monograph the author is much indebted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Washington University. Mrs. Marjorie M. Tucker and Mrs. Marjorie S. Gumeway efficiently and accurately typed different parts of the monograph at various stages of its development, and to them both thanks are due. Mrs. Bernice Krueger also helped with a number of final details.

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3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and ancient Guayrá,[28] that most early writers appear to have thought it unnecessary to comment specifically upon the manners of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayuá." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular head chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, nor hence, "Cayuá" groups from "Guaraní" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, acculturational significance. That is, "Cayuá" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani."

Métraux,[29] and Klimek and Milke,[30] who statistically analyse Métraux's material, seem to feel that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupí groups of central and northern Brazil and the southern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guarani and Cayuá groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupí" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupí-Guarani family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day readers of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, over large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayuá and other Tupí-Guarani peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupí-Guarani have been worked out, that the Cayuá will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guarani-speakers at the time of the Conquest.

[28] The territory today roughly comprised by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

[29] Métraux, 1928. [30] Klimek and Milke, 1938.

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the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *mate*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[84] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[85]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupí-Guarani peoples,[86] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[87] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[85] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapirí, certainly no older than 30 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups.

[86] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [87] Von Ihering, 1907.

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position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:

> "This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[116]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[116] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinction, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One [121] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs [174] today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

• 114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
199 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupí /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guaraní, or rather Tupí, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part [178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[114]

[184] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

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Location

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Caingué, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaiwá, Kaingá, Kaingué, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. R., *Reise nach Paraguay, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826* (aus den Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174 797 elements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

[778] Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114] 11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guaraní languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranís". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guaraní" or "Northern Guaraní". Gay (Cónego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuítica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1942) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guaraní" are called in Paraguay by the 19 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Calagué (= Cayuá).

C G 175 484 /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G 175 169 484 [162] I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G 114 175 169 484 484 174 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

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/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

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They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

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1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

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A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

C /fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its
G name, although all were one race; asked how
175 they came to speak guarany and where he knew
648 the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke
Ce goarany was that in times past, before garçia
175 came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys,
648 there was a great gathering of said guaranys in
567 the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search
for the metal, and that passing through their
land at night they came upon their houses and
killed many of them and took their women and
children and brought them to the said port of
ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said
goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed
through there, with whom he and two other
brothers went in search of said metal with the
said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled
with the said Garçia until he returned, he said
yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and
where he got the metal that he carried, he said
that he had gone as far as the race that they
call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said
payçunos gave him the said metal and that he
had returned from there because he learned that
a race called çorocotoquis were having a great
gathering against the said garçia and those who
went with him, and he said that they returned to
get more xrisptianos in order to return with them
for the said metal ..." /translated from the
Spanish/.

C This testimony and some other indications
G corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evi-
175 dence not only of vast erudition but also great
127 sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on
● 114 which I do not agree with him. The documents
167 alluding to the migration of the Guarani all
speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

G 114 129 175 167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

G 175 167 [114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

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The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department, Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani, and the funerary furnishings include no piece which could be attributed either closely or distantly to the Guarani.

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Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians, and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy, which Boman (1) considered as Guarani, in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) and myself (Métraux, 2, pp. 271-276) have resumed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Catanduvá are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá* (*Kayguá*).

The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shctá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

At present most of the *Caingué* groups are in constant contact with the Mestizos and Whites, and many *Caingué* work as peons in the estancias, in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes, tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

Population.—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Caingué* at about 3,000.

Sources.—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Caingué* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil. Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Caingué* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Caingué*. On the *Cayué* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingué*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Caingué*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.